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ABSTRACT

This report discusses 2 studies that examine reaction to the killing of 4 students by National Guardsmen at Kent State University, Ohio, on May 4, 1970. The first study was designed to investigate the segmentation of the public in terms of its reaction to the Kent State incident. Three groups, or attitudinal types: radicalized students, tolerant, but somewhat conservative adults, and intolerant adults, emerged factor-analytically through a Q technique analysis of 228 respondents. Their sentiments were segmented into 3 groupings: (1) those supporting students, (2) those intolerantly opposing them, and (3) those who were tolerant, but nonsupporting. This study considered the characteristics of these groups and their relation to one another. The second study is an intensive analysis of the perceptual worlds of 6 radical and 6 moderate Kent State students, in which images of figures in their personal and political worlds were examined factor-analytically for evidence bearing on the ways in which students related to the Kent State situation. An appendix includes the factor loadings and factor scores associated with the first study. (Author/F) (Author/AF)

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PUBLIC RESPONSE AND PRIVATE FEELING: REACTION TO THE KENT STATE SITUATION

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Abstract. On May 4, 1970, Ohio National Guardsmen fired into a crowd of demonstrating Kent State University students, killing four. Two studies are reported which examine reaction to this event. The first study (n = 228) indicates public sentiment was segmented into three groupings: (1) those supporting the students, (2) those intolerantly opposing them, and (3) those who were tolerant but nonsupporting. The characteristics of these groups and their relation to one another are discussed. The second study is an intensive analysis of the perceptual worlds of 6 radical and 6 moderate Kent State students, and illustrates the connections between their primary experiences and their reaction to the events on the campus. Q technique and inverted factor analysis are the major devices employed in both studies. An appendix includes the factor loadings and factor scores associated with the first study.

Public Response

In the spring of 1969, several Kent State University students, led by the local contingent of the Students for a Democratic Society, became involved in a skirmish with city and county law enforcement officials, and the end result was a few arrests, some jail sentences, and mutual ill-will. In the fall, the Kent State chapter of the American Association of University Professors issued its Report of the Special Committee of Inquiry wherein attention was called to

> . . . one of the most singular aspects of the whole affair: the fact that no blood was shed. We join with the Special Committee in commending President White and his Administration on the foresight and good sense they showed in their plans for avoiding that kind of violent over-reaction that has stained other campuses [Kent Chapter, AAUP, p. iii].

In May, 1970, many aspects of the 1969 situation were virtually replicated, but this time little room was left for self-congratulations. Following a weekend during which time students

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and nonstudents had broken windows of downtown Kent commercial establishments (May 1) and had burned the ROTC building (May 2), the Ohio National Guard was sent to the campus (May 3). The inevitable confrontation between students and Guardsmen occurred shortly after noon on May 4. For as yet unclear reasons, Guardsmen fired, killing four students and wounding nine others.

Public reaction was immediate and intense. Several universities came to a complete halt, rallies were held in various parts of the country, including the nation's capitol, and the media were full of pro-and-con commentary related to Kent State and allied issues, such as the Cambodian invasion. By and large, the events at Kent appear to have served a catalytic function by bringing into the open many discontents which had been smoldering beneath the surface. They also provided an opportunity to examine the character of a controversial issue and the way in which it is embedded in the larger social fabric.

After the shooting, the Kent State students were instructed to go to their homes and remain away from the campus until further notice. By 5 p.m., the campus was vacant of civilian personnel. The decision was quickly made to suspend formal classes for the remainder of the spring quarter but to continue classwork by correspondence. The task fashioned for 55 students in a political analysis class was to analyze the public's reaction to the Kent situation.

Method

Interviews. The 55 students were provided with a broad outline and instructed to interview in depth at least two persons, one of whom by and large favored the students' point of view, and the other who tended to favor the point of view espoused by the existing authorities. (Earlier in the spring quarter, the students obtained experience in the techniques of depth interviewing). Most of the interviewers (and, therefore, the interviewees) were living in Ohio, but some lived as far away as Florida, New York, Quebec, Missouri, and elsewhere. In addition to interviews, the media were combed for public pronouncements, letters to the editor, and any and all manner of responses concerning the situation.

The total number of statements of opinion collected in these diverse ways may be regarded as a universe of discourse, examples of which are as follows:

> (a) The disturbances in Kent and the burning of the ROTC building were inexcusible and were responsible for the Guard's presence. If the Guard hadn't of been called, the students would have burned down the whole town.
>
> (b) Some people have forgotten that rioting and destruction were going on in Kent before the Guard arrived--not because the Guard came to Kent. If the students hadn't frightened the community, in all probability no one would have been killed.

(c) I couldn't sleep afterwards. I really had fears for my own safety.

(d) I don't think I could bring myself to be violent, but it's really hard to continually beat your head against the peaceful brick wall. However, continue we must.

(e) The only way to stop those degenerates is for those who believe in the flag to band together and kick the hell out of some people. Brute force is the only answer.

(f) Anyone who claims it is justifiable and exemplary to kill innocent citizens just to protect law and order is ideal bait for a fascist regime, and this, more than riots, terrifies me.

(g) Some of those rebellious kids should have been spanked more often. There was no trouble like this back when youth respected their parents.

(h) Communists are directing virtually all anti-war protest and violent dissent.

(i) The National Guard is just a bunch of trigger-happy, draft-dodging, high-school drop-outs. Unless evidence of a sniper is positively proven, the Guard is at fault.

Approximately 600 of such statements of opinion as these were collected and each typed onto a 3 x 5 card. The 600 cards represented the population of verbiage from which it was necessary, for reasons which follow, to take a sample that would be representative of the larger population. Since students had done the interviews, the population of statements tended to overrepresent the student point of view, and so a random selection of statements would merely have reflected this bias.

Design. Rather than randomly, therefore, the statements were selected by design--i.e., we attempted to model the universe theoretically and then selected statements according to the rules of replication in experimental design. We wished to look at matters broadly, keeping in mind the socio-political and psychological aspects: as regards the political, we wished to take account of ideological orientations (pro- or anti-Establishment sentiments); as regards social matters, Lasswellian values (welfare or deference) were of concern (Lasswell & Kaplan, 1950); and so far as psychological issues were involved, we wished to keep an eye out for ego mechanisms (defensive or coping) and the functions (cognitive, impulsive, or both) which they served (Kroeber, 1963). All of these concerns can be reduced in their essentials to completely randomized designs in factorial arrangement, as in Table 1.

In this design, there are ABCD = (2)(2)(2)(3) = 24 cells into one of which the 600 statements were placed. For example, statement (a) above was regarded as pro-Establishment in orientation, as reflective of insecurity (and therefore concerned with

Table 1

Theoretical Structure of Statement Universe

Effects	Levels		
A. Ideology	A_1 pro-Establishment		A_2 anti-Establishment
B. Values	B_1 welfare		B_2 deference
C. Mechanism	C_1 defensive		C_2 coping
D. Function	D_1 cognitive	D_2 cognitive-impulsive	D_3 impulsive

well-being, a welfare value), and as involved in isolating the students' riotous behavior from the precedents of that behavior (and thereby creating the impression that the students were unprovoked and deserved the punishment they received). Since isolation is regarded by Kroeber (1963) as a cognitive defense, the statement was categorized as $A_1B_1C_1D_1$. Similarly, statement (b) was categorized as $A_1B_1C_2D_1$, differing from (a) in that it involves a certain logical, cause-and-effect kind of thinking which Kroeber regards as cognitive behavior of a coping kind. The details of structuring statements by design, using data from this study as an example, is forthcoming (Brown, in press).

Q technique. Once the 600 statements had been placed in one of the 24 cells, $\underline{m} = 3$ statements were drawn from each of the cells, providing a Q sample of $\underline{m}ABCD = (3)(2)(2)(2)(3) = 72$ statements. Three other uncategorized statements were added, bringing the total to $\underline{N} = 75$ statements which were indistinguishable, so far as a naive observer could tell, from any sample which might have been selected randomly--i.e., the sample was comprehensive and representative of the total situation under study (Brown, 1970; Brown & Ungs, in press). The statements are listed in the Appendix.

The 75 statements were then randomly numbered, from 1 to 75, and each was typed on a small card and placed in a Q sort (Stephenson, 1953; Kerlinger, 1964, pp. 581-599), which is a modified ranking procedure whereby the subject (S) ranks a series of stimuli along a continuum, in this case from +6 (most agree) to -6 (most disagree) and in a forced, quasi-normal distribution, as follows:

	(most disagree)												(most agree)
value	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
frequency	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	8	7	6	5	4	3

A total of $\underline{n} = 228$ Q sorts were obtained, 94 of them from individuals who were on the Kent State campus on May 4, and the remainder from persons (from California to New England) who were not.

Results

Factor structure: Kent State. The 94 Q sorts from Kent State students, faculty, administrators, staff members, plus those from three National Guardsmen were correlated, and the 94 x 94 matrix was factor analyzed using the principal axis method, and two factors resulted which were rotated by varimax criteria to a position in simple structure. (Factor loadings for the 228 Ss are in the Appendix.) Factors in Q method represent clusters of likeminded Ss who have ranked the statements in essentially the same pattern as a reflection, presumably, of a shared attitude. Factor scores, from +6 to -6, were then computed for the 75 statements in each of the two factors.

Factor A was dominated almost exclusively by Kent State students: in fact, only students were purely loaded on A, i.e., of the Ss significantly loaded on factor A and insignificantly loaded on factor B, all were students. Statements characterizing this factor--i.e., the statements to which the Ss associated with this factor assigned the highest and lowest scores--are as follows:

> (Score +6 and +5) There is only one fitting memorial to the fallen. It is for the living to stop the killing.... Anyone who claims it is justifiable and exemplary to kill innocent citizens just to protect law and order is ideal bait for a fascist regime, and this, more than riots, terrifies me.... My first reaction was sadness for the four students, then anger because of the senselessness of it all, and then a personal fear that these deaths were only a beginning.... There comes a time when there are priorities over and beyond that which we have traditionally considered the fundamental purpose of an academic institution.... Agnew is an ignorant slob, a rhetoritician for Nixon's insipid policies. His invective after the Kent murders served more to fan the flames of indignation than to appeal to reason.... Reference to outside agitators is largely overdrawn. But many people are willing, even anxious, to believe this assertion.... The Kent shootings were cold-blooded murder. The Guardsmen were not trapped, not shot at, not threatened. They should never have been allowed on the campus.
>
> (Score -6 and -5) The only way to stop those degenerates is for those who believe in the flag to band together and kick the hell out of some people. Brute force is the only answer.... As far as the National Guard is concerned--right or wrong, I stand behind them 100 per cent.... They should shoot those who perpetrate violence and destroy property. The radical core can't be changed--they have to be shot to be stopped.... The disturbances in Kent and the burning of the ROTC building were inexcusible and were responsible for the Guard's presence. If the Guard hadn't of been called, the students would have burned down the whole town.... I find the Vietnam War a very poor excuse for the violent reaction of students.... This is all very tragic; yet, if this is what it takes to teach law and order to students, then this is

> the high price that must be paid to keep our country free. Freedom ends when laws are broken and authority threatened .... The students at Kent had a choice where they wanted to be; the members of the Guard did not. Therefore, it's the weirdos who are to blame, and as far as I'm concerned they got what they deserved.

The factor scores transmit the impression that those on factor A experienced a good deal of anger and personal fear, and for good reason: as indicated in the Appendix, a good number of persons on this factor witnessed the shooting and several were in the crowd fired upon.

Factor B was dominated primarily by administrators and faculty members, and the moderate and system-oriented position taken by this factor is apparent by the statements at the positive and negative ends of the B array:

> (Score +6 and +5) The working together of faculty, administrators, and students within the established framework would help prevent recurrences of these kinds of things.... There must be more ways for students to dissent from the War legally and non-violently; they must be shown that a lot of others around them are with them, and the legal non-violent opposition must be shown to be effective.... As long as students believe the only way to get change is through violence we will not have a better world, only a bloodier one. The student violence at Kent was no more right than the wars it decried.... Students must be made to understand that there are rules of the house involved: they should have a say as to what the rules will be, but the management must have the final word.... Reform and change should move forward cautiously and should take place in the form of education, not revolution.... What I mourn, more than the needless death of four young people, is the slow death of reason, understanding, compassion, and respect in relations between people.... I don't think peaceful protests will help, but I can't condone violence either. Somehow, for the sake of the country, we have to get together and talk these things out.

> (Score -6 and -5) The National Guard is just a bunch of trigger-happy, draft-dodging, high-school drop-outs. Unless evidence of a sniper is positively proven, the Guard is at fault.... We're definitely headed for revolution. The 'Kent 4' were the first fatalities. This seems to be the only way we will accomplish the ultimate liberation of our society.... The Kent shootings were cold-blooded murder. The Guardsmen were not trapped, not shot at, not threatened. They should never have been allowed on the campus.... The only way to stop those degenerates is for those who believe in the flag to band together and kick the hell out of some people. Brute force is the only answer.... The ROTC building was proof of the University's bias and lies about academic neutrality. Maybe burning it was the wrong answer, but I wouldn't have put the fire out.... I have become radically shifted. I don't like violence, but right now I can't see any other way.

> They didn't give peace a chance.... Based upon total costs, college students are about one-fifth as expensive to kill as Viet Cong. No wonder our economy-minded leaders have gotten so interested in the campuses.

The scores indicate that while A and B are together in opposing the use of force on campus, B continues to maintain faith in the ability of existing institutions to meet the issues, whereas A has given up largely.

These two viewpoints virtually exhausted the attitudinal domain on the Kent State campus; in fact, all 94 respondents in this analysis were significantly loaded on either A or B or both. As orthogonal factors, there were certain specific areas of agreement and disagreement, as indicated below (scores in parentheses for A and B, respectively):

> (Disagreement) The Kent shootings were cold-blooded murder. The Guardsmen were not trapped, not shot at, not threatened. They should never have been allowed on the campus (+5, -6).... The ROTC building was proof of the University's bias and lies about academic neutrality. Maybe burning it was the wrong answer, but I wouldn't have put the fire out (+4, -5).... The National Guard on the Kent campus immediately reminded me of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Russian troops in 1968 (+3, -4).... As long as students believe the only way to get change is through violence we will not have a better world, only a bloodier one. The student violence at Kent was no more right than the wars it decried (-2, +6) .... I find the Vietnam War a very poor excuse for the violent reaction of students (-5, +2).... Students must be made to understand that there are rules of the house involved: they should have a say as to what the rules will be, but the management must have the final word (-2, +5).
>
> (Agreement) Communists are directing virtually all anti-war protest and violent dissent (-4, -3).... They should shoot those who perpetrate violence and destroy property. The radical core can't be changed--they have to be shot to be stopped (-6, -4).... What I mourn, more than the needless death of four young people, is the slow death of reason, understanding, compassion, and respect in relations between people (+4, +5).... I don't believe in shooting people either, but the students just wouldn't listen. Frankly, I'm surprised the Guard didn't kill before they did. If some of those freaks had thrown rocks at me, I'd have shot them more than once (-4, -3).

The emerging pattern is no doubt familiar to many persons in academic circles: students, faculty, and administrators reach consensus when it comes to opposing intolerant violence against students and to decrying conspiracy theses of communists and outside agitators. On the other hand, division occurs when the topic turns to the violence in which students participate, in which case faculty and administrators tend to take a consistent view against violence of any kind, including student violence.

A word is in order regarding those Ss, almost half of the on-campus sample, who had significant loadings on both factors. Whereas Ss with significant and pure factor loadings on A or B have rather consistent viewpoints, those Ss with loadings on both factors are placed in the rather difficult position of trying to merge the two viewpoints into one consistent viewpoint. S no. 127 (loaded 0.76 and 0.42 on A and B, respectively) is not unrepresentative of this type mixture. Upon completion of her Q sort, she remarked, 'I am against violence, and against American involvement in Vietnam and Cambodia. I am dissatisfied with the Nixon Administration, especially Agnew. These are the things I was demonstrating about and will continue to demonstrate about, realizing of course that we have to work through the system or we will get nowhere.' Her comments have aspects of both the pro-Establishment and anti-Establishment positions; one might suspect a certain ambivalence toward radicalism, and that Ss such as these would be particularly vulnerable to the kind of radicalizing process which takes place as a function of the movement of events.*

Factor structure: general public. A factoring of the Q sorts of the remaining 134 respondents who were not present on the Kent State campus again produced two factors, but this time three groupings, as shown in Figure 1. Groups A and B re-emerged in the same relationship as existed on the campus, but a group C also emerged (bipolar to A) which was not in evidence among the on-campus Ss.**

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*Commentators on the youth culture have tended to emphasize personality and developmental aspects--those things going on inside the individual--to the detriment of external situations and circumstances. There is nothing quite so distressing, particularly to an ambivalent person, than to entertain a theory about how the world operates and then, in a concrete situation, to discover he was wrong. This was illustrated in the case of S no. 002 (purely loaded on factor A) who enclosed with his Q sort a long letter describing how he was arrested for curfew violation while not being aware of a curfew, how he was poked and jabbed with bayonets while trying to comply with Guardsmen's orders, how he was jailed and prevented from calling an attorney, how he was punched and kicked by a deputy while trying to cooperate, and how, after the judge declared him innocent of charges, he was led away to be reimprisoned. At that point, he said, 'The system that I had been taught to believe in had failed me in my first time of need.' Only then did he become violent--'all other options were gone'--and, with a 'feeling which I thought myself to be incapable of', began physically resisting confinement. And it was only at that point that officials decided to check with the court to see if he was innocent as he claimed, 'something they would not do until I had decided to fight.' An explanation of the process of radicalization is incomplete which does not take into account both internal predispositions (personality, perception, attitudes, etc.) and external consequences (Skinner, 1969), and more importantly, their influence on one another.

**Factor loadings are correlation coefficients of the variables (Q sorts) with the factor array when the factors are uncorrelated. Rather than report two factorizations, therefore, the general-public

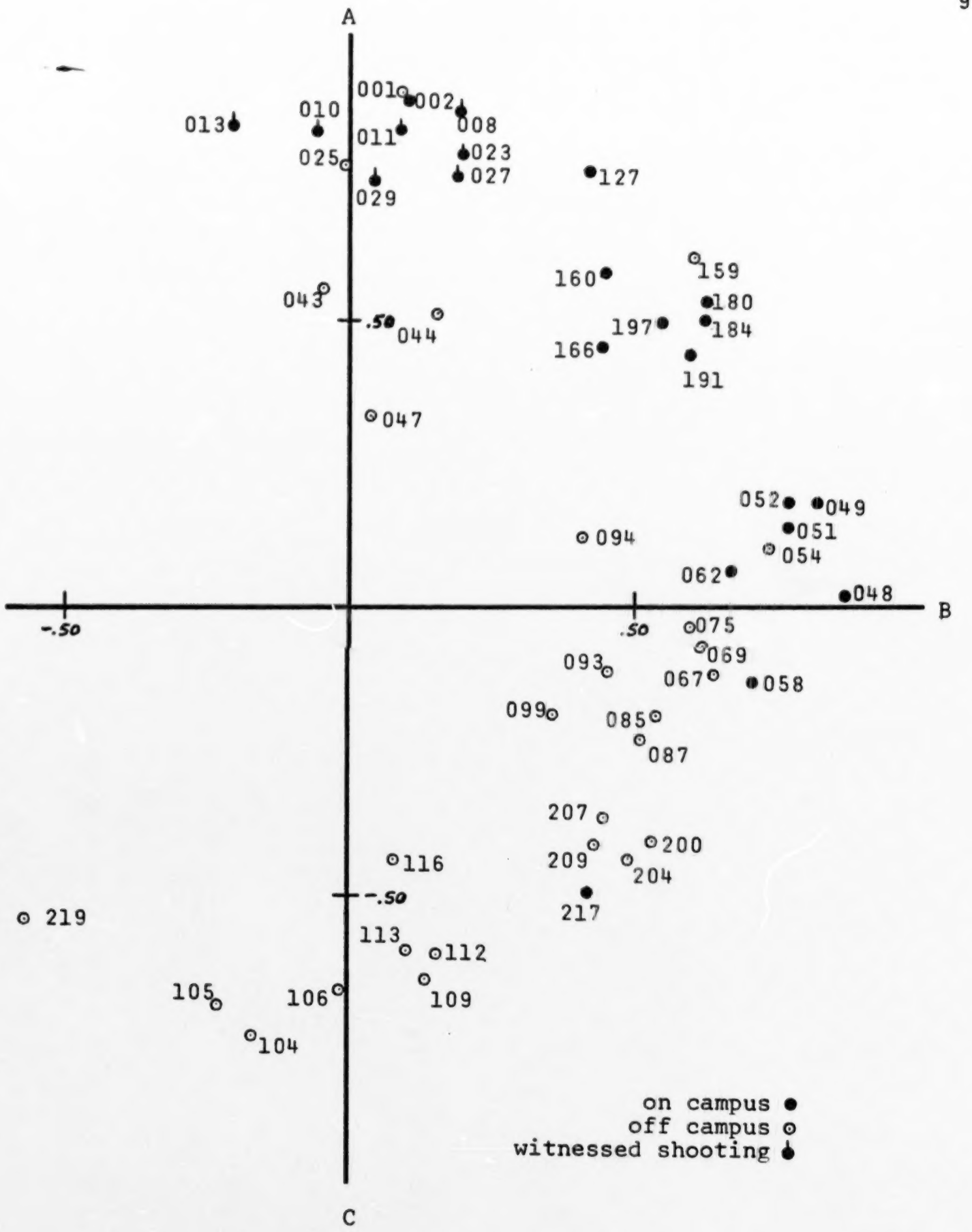

Fig. 1. Q-factor structure of response to the Kent State incident (S numbers from the Appendix).

Factor A continued to be dominated by students, from California to New York, suggesting a kind of symbolic identification with students by students wherever they might be. Factor B was the point of view expressed by adults of generally tolerant inclinations. Again, a good number of Ss had significant loadings on A and B. In addition to the new group C, there was another difference between the on-campus Ss and those in the mass public: whereas no adults (administrators, faculty, staff) were purely loaded on factor A in the first analysis, a few adults from the general public did obtain pure loadings on this factor in the second analysis. This might be explained by the fact that Kent State faculty and administrators were more constrained by the events of the previous weekend (the window-breaking, the burning of the ROTC building) and therefore found it difficult to side totally with the students. However, many liberal-minded adults more removed from the situation had only the national media upon which to rely, and since the media only picked up the story beginning with the shooting, the events preceding did not interfere with the expression of a more purely radicalized viewpoint.

Group C appears to represent the viewpoint of the intolerant mass, or the crowd, as it might be labeled. Statements characterizing this point of view, both positively and negatively, are shown below and indicate the reactive, contrademocratic, and law-and-order stance of these Ss (scores in parentheses being the values obtained by the same statement in factors A and B, respectively):

> (Score +6 and +5) This is all very tragic; yet, if this is what it takes to teach law and order to students, then this is the high price that must be paid to keep our country free. Freedom ends when laws are broken and authority threatened (-5, +1).... Kent State was a clear-cut and classic instance of outsiders planning and manipulating a series of events: outsiders dedicated to only an out-and-out revolutionary purpose used President Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia as a trigger for violence (-3, 0).... I find the Vietnam War a very poor excuse for the violent reaction of students (-5, +2).... Although I wouldn't want to hurt anyone myself, nevertheless when those New York construction

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Q sorts were merely correlated with the on-campus A and B arrays; the factor loadings for off-campus Ss in the Appendix are those correlations. However, a factorization of the 134 general public Q sorts, with the A and B arrays included as criteria, indicated essentially the same relationships would have resulted had a total refactorization been accomplished. In addition, the replicability of the factor structure gives testimony to the possibility of small sample research as an alternative to survey work. Since only two factors account for almost all Ss, an interrogation of only a dozen or two carefully chosen respondents would have provided most of the information gained from this study of 228 respondents. The remainder of the respondents merely fill up the factor space, but do not measurably influence the factor structure or the resulting factor scores.

workers plowed through those students like a Sherman tank--well, I must admit, I found it a bit refreshing (-4, -2).... The students at Kent had a choice where they wanted to be; the members of the Guard did not. Therefore, it's the weirdos who are to blame, and as far as I'm concerned they got what they deserved (-5, -2).... They should shoot those who perpetrate violence and destroy property. The radical core can't be changed--they have to be shot to be stopped (-6, -4).... As far as the National Guard is concerned--right or wrong, I stand behind them 100 per cent (-6, -3).

(Score -6 and -5) The Kent shootings were cold-blooded murder. The Guardsmen were not trapped, not shot at, not threatened. They should never have been allowed on the campus (+5, -6).... The ROTC building was proof of the University's bias and lies about academic neutrality. Maybe burning it was the wrong answer, but I wouldn't have put the fire out (+4, -5).... The National Guard is just a bunch of trigger-happy, draft-dodging, high-school drop-outs. Unless evidence of a sniper is positively proven, the Guard is at fault (+1, -6).... As much as I disagree with them, I still don't think radical groups like S.D.S. should be banned; that just causes them to go underground. As long as this is a free country, they should be allowed to try to get support for their ideas, just like everybody else (+1, +1).... Reference to outside agitators is largely overdrawn. But many people are willing, even anxious, to believe this assertion (+5, -1).... Agnew is an ignorant slob, a rhetoritician for Nixon's insipid policies. His invective after the Kent murders served more to fan the flames of indignation than to appeal to reason (+5, -3).... If the Guard had not been on campus, none of the shooting would have occurred (+3, 0).

As might be expected, since A and C represent bipolar opposites, virtually everything A is for, C is against, and vice versa. (In this analysis, group C was treated as though it was a third factor rather than part of a single factor bipolar to A; therefore, the factor scores for C will not necessarily be the direct opposite of those for A.) Further, group B, orthogonal to both, sometimes sides with A, sometimes with C, but occasionally takes a unique position. A and C are obviously the most visible viewpoints; indeed, the clash between students and New York construction workers on nationwide television was in effect a clash between groups A and C. The relative invisibility of group B may be due to the fact that it is bipolar to no existing group which could throw its viewpoint into sharper relief. (As a theoretical matter, however, one can reverse the signs of the factor scores in factor B to see what an attitude opposite to B would have to look like if it existed.)

But despite the polarity, there are issues for which even A and C reach agreement, although such agreement says less about A and C than about B relative to them both, as the following indicate (scores in parentheses for A, B, and C, respectively):

> I don't think peaceful protests will help, but I can't condone violence either. Somehow, for the sake of the country, we have to get together and talk these things out (0, +5, +1).... There are several investigations which have been commissioned. I feel we should not jump to conclusions before the facts are in (+1, +4, +1).... If there is no other way, force must be used to preserve order--but not bullets. I don't believe in shooting them down (-1, +4, -1).... We should suppress radicals, but by talking to them, not shooting them. Might not a radical--even though a radical--have a good idea? (-1, +3, -1).... Since we are all responsible for our own behavior, each of us, directly or indirectly, is to some extent responsible for what happened at Kent. Therefore, if there is to be peace, let it begin with me (0, +2, 0).... I was predisposed to blame the students, but then as I got more information I began to realize that mistakes had been made on both sides (-2, +4, 0).

It is of some interest that the major antagonists, A and C, are least anxious to accept any blame, to obtain the facts of the matter, or to get together to talk things out. Indeed, one gets the impression that the facts do not really matter but are accepted or rejected according to whether they fit one's pre-existent prejudices, as Thompson (1966) has intimated. Of prior interest in this study was the question of the status of so-called facts, and the following near-factual statements, one pro-Establishment and one anti-Establishment, were added to the Q sample to help determine what would be done with them, vis a vis the remainder of the statements which were more in the line of opinions:

> If the Guard had not been on campus, none of the shooting would have occurred (+3, 0, -5).
>
> Some people have forgotten that rioting and destruction were going on in Kent before the Guard arrived--not because the Guard came to Kent. If the students hadn't frightened the community, in all probability no one would have been killed (-2, +2, +3).

Factor C types, anxious to defend existing authorities, go so far as to deny any shooting would have occurred had the Guard not been allowed on the campus, yet since only the Guardsmen were armed, it would be difficult to imagine a statement more plausible in its logical consequences. Likewise, factor A types seem to wish to deny that student behavior was in any way causally related to the presence of the National Guard, and yet it is difficult to imagine under what pretenses the Guard would have been sent into Kent on May 3 if there had not been rock throwing and building burning on May 1 and 2.

Of some considerable theoretical interest to us was the question of fantasy and, in Laing's (1969) terminology, the extent to which one's fantasy of the other influences one's behavior toward the other in reality. The following statement was included to see if any of the Ss were prepared to acknowledge this possibility:

> Students today are highly creative and have rich fantasies. Their problems arise when they begin to act on their fantasies as if they were reality (-1, 0, +2).

From a statistical standpoint, this statement in each of the factors failed to gain a score in excess of even one standard deviation from the 0 mark of nonsalience, indicating the statement appears to be a rather meaningless one for all concerned. However, recognized or not, the possibility still exists that individuals tend to be influenced in their dealing in the real work by the images they have of that world, and it was this theoretical possibility to which we have directed attention in the second half of this investigation.

Private Feeling

Our intent in this portion of the study was to investigate the perceptual worlds of a group of moderate and radical students, i.e., to investigate the ways, if they existed, in which students of moderate and radical persuasions related to the external world on the basis of their previous interpersonal experiences. The study was begun prior to May 4, 1970, but the events on the Kent State campus led to an alteration in the study design to incorporate aspects of those events, thereby enabling us to obtain a better view of the way the subjects dealt with an on-going and unfolding situation.

Subjects and Procedures

Junior and senior students in a political science class were administered a Q sort containing statements drawn from a number of scales designed to measure radicalism and conservatism. As in the above study, Ss were instructed to distribute the statements from those with which they most agreed (+5) to those with which they most disagreed (-5). The Q sorts of the $n = 53$ students were then correlated and factor analyzed, and the four principal axis factors which resulted were rotated by varimax criteria to a position in simple structure. Factor scores were then computed for each of the statements in each of the factors, and the scores were examined in an attempt to determine which of the factors represented the most radical viewpoint, and which the most conservative viewpoint. Factors I and II were selected, although factor II was regarded as 'moderate' rather than 'conservative,' as the scores for the two groups (in Table 2) would suggest.

The six Ss with the highest factor loadings on factor I were chosen as representative of the radical ideology; likewise, the six Ss with the highest loadings on factor II were chosen as representative of the moderate viewpoint.* From now on, all reference

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*Representative, that is, in a purely descriptive sense--as opposed to a symbolic or ascriptive sense, or in the sense of representing an interest (Griffiths & Wollheim, 1960)--whereby those individuals with the highest loadings on a factor may be presumed

Table 2

Some Factor Scores for 'Radicals' and 'Moderates'

	Factor I (Radical)	Factor II (Moderate)
Industries such as electricity, mines and railways should be owned and operated by the state--not for a private profit.	+5	-3
Slumps and unemployment are inevitable consequences of capitalism.	+4	-4
All large scale means of production and distribution must be owned and operated by the state.	+3	-5
To ensure adequate care of the sick, we need to change radically the present system of privately controlled medical care.	+5	+5
Large fortunes should be taxed fairly heavily over and above income taxes.	+4	+4
If civilization is to survive, there must be a turning back to religion.	-4	+3
Most politicians can be trusted to do what they think is best for the country.	-1	+4
I'd want to know that something would really work before I'd be willing to take a chance on it.	-4	+1

to radicals and moderates refers to the factors for which 'radical' and 'moderate' are labels.

Radical and moderate Ss were then invited to discuss their relationships with various individuals in their interpersonal worlds --mothers, fathers, siblings, and so forth--and a list was made of

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to be more highly saturated with the factor viewpoint than those individuals with lower loadings, and therefore are best able to speak for that viewpoint. This is important in methodological respects. Keniston (1968), for example, says he is 'not sure how one would go about finding a group of 'typical' radicals' (p. 19), and, in the absence of criteria, goes about listing certain attributes which are to form his definition. Our procedures are more along operational lines in that rather than being defined by the investigator, individuals on the same factor define themselves by operating with the Q sort in a similar fashion. The magnitude of their factor loadings is the mark of their similarity, or typicality: the S with the highest loading is the most typical of that viewpoint to which others are lesser approximations.

the salient individuals mentioned by each. From each list was taken an interpersonal sample selected to ensure that the 10 or so most relevant were included, along with situational considerations and each S's various self conceptions. In addition, several secondary objects-of-perception--individuals and abstract concepts--were added to the sample. Examples of primary- and secondary-objects are as follows:

> (Primary) Yourself, how you would like to be ideally, how others think of you, how you would like others to think of you, your father, mother, brother, sister, grandmother, uncle, aunt, your friend during childhood, the kind of person your father would like you to be, the kind of person your mother would like you to be, and so forth.
>
> (Secondary) President Richard Nixon, President Lyndon Johnson, Vice President Spiro Agnew, Governor George Wallace, Governor Ronald Reagan, President John F. Kennedy, Senator Edmund Muskie, Senator Eugene McCarthy, America, how you would like America to be ideally, politicians in general, how you would like politicians to be ideally, Ohio Governor James Rhodes, Ohio National Guard Adjutant-General Sylvester T. Del Corso, and so forth.

The names of Governor Rhodes and General Del Corso were added to the list after the May 4 incident; in addition, each S was asked to describe himself as he felt on May 4.

Each S was provided with 50 adjectives,* each typed on a small card, and instructed to describe (via Q technique) each of the objects of perception selected to represent his primary and secondary world. Thus, when describing himself, an S might assign +5 to such traits as sincere, aggressive, and proud, and -5 to such traits as malicious, possessive, and humble; on the other hand, in describing his ideal self, +5 might be assigned to such traits as honorable and trusting, and -5 to cynical and thoughtless. Of theoretical interest was whether any Ss, in a projective way, might tend to describe secondary objects in ways similar to (i.e., correlated with) primary ones, what the structure of these perceptions was, and whether any differences existed between the perceptual worlds of radicals compared to those of moderates.

Each of the twelve Ss described approximately 30 objects, thus generating a 30 x 30 correlation matrix for himself. The twelve separate matrices were then factor analyzed and rotated, as described previously, thereby providing a factor structure for each of the Ss according to which comparisons could be made. Space prevents a detailed account of the results for all twelve Ss, and so we will restrict our report to two radicals and two moderates.

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*The 50 adjectives were taken from a list of 555 provided by Anderson (1968) and selected in such a manner as to represent the range from 'likeable' to 'unlikeable.'

We would preface these comments, however, by saying that there were systematic differences between radicals as a class and moderates as a class, and that what is said of those reported on tends to hold for others of their class.

Radicals: Jim and Kathy

Jim is 22 years old, single, and majoring in political science at Kent State. The eldest of four children (two sisters and a brother), he considers his mother the most influential person in his life. His father, an excessive drinker, died after a long illness after Jim left home for college. In political matters, Jim is an activist in the anti-war movement, and a former supporter of Eugene McCarthy. Kathy, age 21, is also majoring in political science and takes a radical political view. Relations with her parents have been 'congenial,' although she acknowledges a certain tension in her relationship with her mother.* She gets along with her brother, but her sister is 'spoiled.'

A portion of Jim and Kathy's factor matrices are shown in Table 3. From Jim's matrix, we see that factor J1 is highly politicized, with his conception of an ideal America bipolar to his conception of such conservative (and to his mind, reactionary) figures as Nixon, Agnew, Wallace, and Reagan. The influence on the political world of his personal experiences is attested to by his image of his father, which is located among the negative objects, and that of his mother, bipolar to the father and among the positive objects. Factor scores for J1 indicate Jim characterizes his mother (and an ideal America) as tolerant but domineering, warm, ethical, and active, whereas the father (and Reagan, Nixon, Agnew, Rhodes, Del Corso, and America today) is characterized as decisive, self-righteous, malicious, shrewd, thoughtless, but also trusting, the latter perhaps reflecting an ambivalence toward authority. Jim has a tendency to sexualize his political world, which makes tempting the metaphor that whereas he lives in a 'fatherland'--America is among the masculine figures on the negative pole of factor J1--his aspiration is for a 'motherland'--i.e., ideal America is alongside his description of his mother on the positive end of J1. As far as his own personal ideals are concerned (on factor J2), Jim would like to be realistic, domineering, more self-centered, but respectable, but he sees himself in actuality (on factor J3) as active, ethical, ambitious, but warm and kind, perhaps less aggressive than he would like to be.

Kathy's factor structure also shows the marked tendency to sexualize her political world. Her positive identifications, on

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*Characteristic of all but one of the six radicals was the tendency not to get along as well with the parent of the same sex, but there was a general tendency for radicals as a group, compared with the moderates, to report (on a Parent Behavior Inventory (Stephenson, 1966, pp. 70-74)) a feeling of greater rejection by both the mother and the father. On the other hand, moderates expressed a greater feeling of punishment by the mother and intrusiveness by the father.

Table 3

(A) Factor Structure of Jim's Personal-Political World

Objects of Perception	1	2	3
America as I would like it to be ideally	72	25	34
Mother	70	23	35
Ronald Reagan	-89	-04	-09
George Wallace	-89	06	-04
Richard Nixon	-88	-19	-16
Spiro Agnew	-83	-07	-08
America	-82	-02	-21
General Del Corso	-77	-14	-28
Governor Rhodes	-72	-12	-20
Father	-69	10	04
How I would like others to think of me	32	80	33
How my father would like me to be	-08	69	-10
How I would like to be ideally	26	68	14
John F. Kennedy	07	61	33
Myself as others think of me	05	38	67
Eugene McCarthy	17	07	60
Myself	-06	26	58
Myself on May 4, 1970	-48	45	21

(B) Factor Structure of Kathy's Personal-Political World

The 'ideal' politician	90	35	01
How I would like others to think of me	88	36	-05
America as I would like it to be ideally	88	25	-15
Father	83	30	-08
How my mother would like me to be ideally	79	32	16
My brother	73	29	20
How my father would like me to be ideally	72	33	-12
George Wallace	-89	-02	10
America	-89	10	21
Governor Rhodes	-87	-19	24
General Del Corso	-86	-31	24
Ronald Reagan	-80	-27	28
Richard Nixon	-79	-12	31
A childhood 'friend' of mine	-77	10	07
My sister	-51	19	10
Lyndon Johnson	17	82	06
Politicians in general	-08	74	24
Myself	36	71	-02
Mother	-13	38	58
Grandmother	-06	-04	56
Myself on May 4, 1970	-06	28	51

Decimals omitted. Loadings exceeding ±.40 are significant.

factor K1, place her father and brother high, but whereas Jim placed his father bipolar to his mother, Kathy's conception of her mother is orthogonal to the father; the father, however, clearly has an idealized status. Factor scores for the idealized factor K1 indicate Kathy regards her father as sincere, warm, honorable, ethical, and intellectual; the maternal factor K3 is characterized as impulsive, demanding, domineering, and sincere but irrational. Meanwhile, the negative pole of Kathy's factor K1--containing Governor Rhodes, General Del Corso, President Nixon, America, her sister, and a childhood 'friend' who used to beat up on her--is regarded as irresponsible, self-righteous, materialistic, domineering, self-centered, thoughtless, and ambitious. As for herself (factor K2), Kathy gives high marks to ambition, respectability, warmth, dominance, shrewdness, and rationality.

With respect to the Kent State situation, it is of some interest that 'my self normally' and 'my self on May 4' are orthogonal conceptualizations for both Jim and Kathy, most markedly in the latter case. This phenomenon--normal self orthogonal to May-4 self--occurred for 11 of the 12 Ss under investigation, indicating the wholly disorienting effect of that day's events on those who were in close proximity to it. An indication of the quality of that effect can begin to be appreciated through examination, in the case of Kathy, of some of the traits which changed in factor score (scores in parentheses for normal self and May-4 self, respectively): ambitious (+5, 0), intellectual (+1, -4), respectable (+4, +1), realistic (+3, -5), shrewd (+4, -1), impulsive (0, +5), materialistic (-4, -1), demanding (0, +4), possessive (0, +3), and thoughtless (-5, +1). In general, one might regard this situational--and hopefully temporary--self as less worthy of congratulation than the original self.

Moderates: Gary and Linda

Gary and Linda are both age 20, single, and majoring in political science. Both consider themselves well-informed and very interested in political matters. While Gary identifies himself as a moderately-liberal Democrat, Linda views herself as an Independent. Both come from relatively small families; each has an older sister.

A portion of Gary and Linda's factor matrices are shown in Table 4. Like the two radicals, Gary's operations with the Q sort generated three factors; Linda appears to entertain a simpler world, subdividing it into only two parts, factors L1 and L2.

Gary's first factor, G1, contains certain of his personal ideals (how he would like others to think of him, how he would like to be), certain presumably idealized political figures (Reagan, John Kennedy, Eugene McCarthy), and, interestingly enough, female figures close to him (his girlfriend, sister, and mother). Characteristic of this factor are such traits as sincere, conscientious, realistic, decisive, thoughtful, and rational. His father, his best (male) friend, and President Nixon are on factor

Table 4

(A) Factor Structure of Gary's Personal-Political World

Objects of Perception	1	2	3
How I would like others to think of me	94	-06	17
How I would like to be ideally	83	-18	22
The 'ideal' politician	81	06	35
Ronald Reagan	81	20	03
How my father would like me to be ideally	79	10	36
My girlfriend	75	-17	-05
John F. Kennedy	72	-23	39
Eugene McCarthy	69	33	-12
My sister	67	24	-06
My mother	59	13	32
General Del Corso	-26	75	-26
George Wallace	06	68	-34
My father when I was mad at him once	-15	66	04
My aunt	35	63	-24
Myself as others think of me	16	-24	82
Myself	50	-20	69
My father (as he usually is)	28	-45	62
Richard Nixon	03	-30	57
My best friend	16	12	52
Myself on May 4, 1970	-07	06	01

(B) Factor Structure of Linda's Personal-Political World

	1	2
How I would like to be ideally	95	01
How I would like America to be ideally	94	-16
How I would like others to think of me	92	-02
My aunt	90	-10
Myself	89	-25
How others think of me	87	-31
John F. Kennedy	85	02
The 'ideal' politician	84	19
Edmund Muskie	84	-11
My mother	77	-37
My grandfather	77	-39
My father (as he usually is)	75	-03
Eugene McCarthy	75	-14
America	72	36
My sister	65	-12
My father when I was mad at him once	42	26
General Del Corso	-05	90
Spiro Agnew	19	84
George Wallace	07	81
Ronald Reagan	38	80
Governor Rhodes	-37	78
Lyndon Johnson	36	69
My uncle	25	60
Myself on May 4, 1970	11	-33

G3 and are characterized as consistent, somewhat old-fashioned, a bit materialistic, cautious, and respectable. Gary's description of himself is a mixed case, being significantly loaded on both the more feminine factor G1 as well as on the masculine G3, indicating a self-identification with both aspects of a basically congenial primary circle.

In Gary's case, such negative figures as General Del Corso and Governor Wallace are orthogonal as opposed to bipolar, as was the case with the radicals. These negative characters are characterized as cold, intolerant, uncompromising, and thoughtless--quite unlike Gary's perception of his parents--but also as old-fashioned and decisive which also characterize the parents. Again, such negative characters are not without their anchors in the primary circle: the way Gary describes Wallace and Del Corso is highly similar to the way he describes what his father was like once when he (Gary) was angry with him.

The congeniality of the primary circle is even more in evidence in the case of Linda, the female moderate. Factor L1 indicates a very high congruence among Linda's various selves: her self description, her ideal self, and her description of how others see her and how she would like for others to see her are all on the same factor. Similarly described are her parents and such liberal political figures as Kennedy, Muskie, and McCarthy. As might be expected, this factor is characterized by such traits as sincere, trusting, respectable, honorable, conscientious, and ethical. Factor L2 is dominated by such negative figures as General Del Corso, Governor Rhodes, Lyndon Johnson, and such national conservative figures as Agnew, Reagan, and Wallace. Characterizing this factor are such traits as domineering, aggressive, strict, old-fashioned, and ambitious. The traits which characterized the primary circle scored 0 or near-0, as opposed to -4 or -5.

With respect to the two moderates' experiences vis a vis the events of May 4: insofar as we have obtained a representative sampling of their life experiences, it might be said that what they experienced then is uncorrelated with anything they have ever experienced personally or interpersonally in the past.

Comparison and Contrast

One of the major differences between the radicals and moderates is the higher degree of self-ideal congruence among the latter. In the case of the radicals, Jim and Kathy, the self description was a factor separate from the ideal-self description; in the case of the moderates, Gary and Linda, the self-description was a significant, if not pure, loading on the same factor with the ideal-self description. In addition, whereas the radicals tended to reflect intrafamilial conflict, there is an indication that the moderates experienced greater comfort in the family circle: Gary's self description correlates both what that of his father on one factor, and with his mother on another; Linda's self description, description of her mother, and description of her father are all on the same factor.

Another major tendency separating the radicals and the moderates concerns the factorial relationships between the 'good' objects and the 'bad' ones. The two radicals positioned the good and bad bipolar to one another. The moderates, on the other hand, regarded such unliked figures as Del Corso and Governor Rhodes, not as bipolar to their idealized objects, but as orthogonal to them. (The bipolar-orthogonal distinction is perhaps the one which could be made between 'not liking' someone and 'disliking' someone.)

This can perhaps be seen best in terms of Figure 2 where radical Jim and moderate Gary's structures are compared. For Gary, persons such as Del Corso and Governor Wallace have images similar to the one he maintains of what his father was like when he, Gary, was upset with him once: uncompromising (+5), tough (+5), decisive (+5), demanding (+4), but not malicious (0). What his father is actually like however (on factor G3) is consistent (+5) cautious (+5), a bit old-fashioned (+5), but not demanding (-3) nor uncompromising (-5). The negative experiences, then, have generally been tentative ones, to be endured until father became his old self again. For radical Jim on the other hand, the father was regarded as consistently self-righteous, malicious, and thoughtless.

In a similar way, moderate Linda sees all the good objects on her factor L1 as sincere, warm, trusting, and respectable; her bad objects, on the other hand, are not insincere but merely follow a different (orthogonal) style of self presentation: General Del Corso, Governor Rhodes, Spiro Agnew, and her uncle--'a very prejudiced man'--are seen as aggressive, ambitious, domineering, strict, and old-fashioned. Kathy, Linda's radical counterpart, also sees these negative figures as aggressive, domineering, and ambitious, but also as self-centered, self-righteous, irresponsible, and thoughtless, all of which indicate Kathy's image of these negative figures is qualitatively different from Linda's image of them.

In light of these relationships, it seems reasonable to infer that when a National Guardsman walks onto a college campus, what this represents to a radical, in terms of his own life-space, is quite different from what it represents to a more moderate student, in terms of his life space: a Guardsman bipolar to one's ideals and aspirations is not the same as one orthogonal to them. This bipolarity is apt to create considerable anxiety for the radical. At least initially, the moderate is apt to listen intently to his radical classmate's words of warning, but ultimately he is also apt to wonder what all the shouting is about. The moderate will have more difficulty accepting that political figures are malicious and cruel if the only authority figures he has experienced have not been that way.

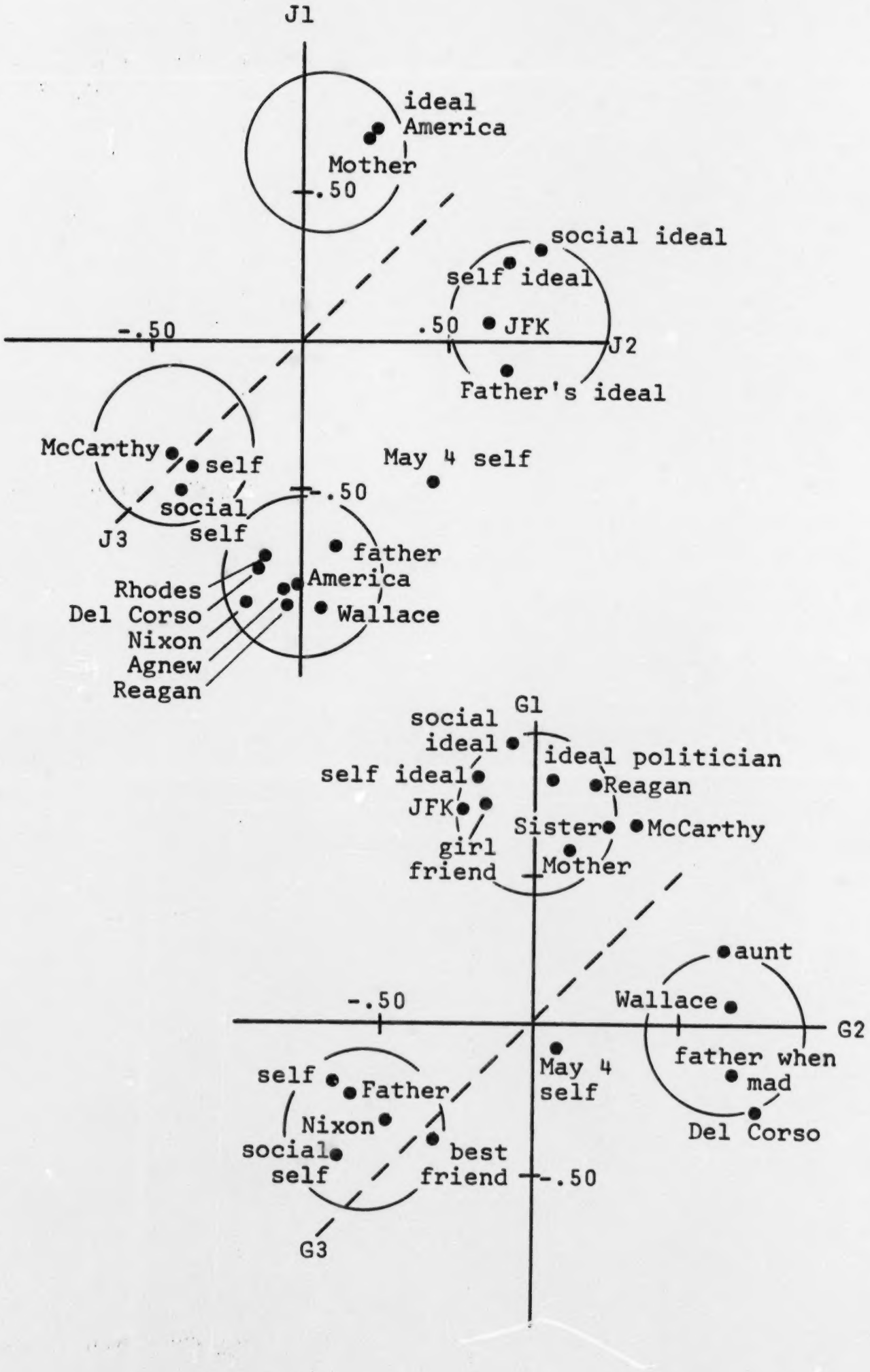

Fig. 2. Comparison of factor structures for radical and moderate Ss.

Summary and Concluding Remarks

By way of a brief summary: the first study was designed to investigate the segmentation of the public in terms of its reaction to the Kent State incident of May 4, 1970. Three groups, or attitudinal types--radicalized students, tolerant but somewhat conservative adults, and intolerant adults--emerged factor-analytically through a Q technique analysis of 228 respondents. The second study centered on an intensive analysis of six radical and six moderate Kent State students in which images of figures in their personal and political worlds were examined factor-analytically for evidence bearing on the ways in which students related to the Kent State situation. Generally speaking, all of the students studied provided indications of having related to the situation according to themes which they had experienced earlier in their life-spaces. The radicals, however, distinguished themselves from the moderates by virtue of their greater self-ideal disparities, and by virtue of their having perceived the situation in the context of a bipolar political milieu which appeared functionally related to their bipolar personal experiences.

Although the division between the youth and their elders may be no more pronounced than at other times in history, there probably have been few periods in which the division has been more prominent in the public's mind and more salient in terms of demands placed on the society by the rival age groups. In analyzing international bipolarities some twenty years ago, Lasswell (1951) pointed to lack of neighborly contact as one of the most important influences reinforcing hostilities. Lack of contact contributes to the breakdown of attitudinal communication and information exchange, and the gap is usually filled, as he graphically stated it, by 'fantasies projected from the inner caves of human personality' (p. 645).

There is some reason to believe that intergenerational bipolarities may tend to operate in ways similar to international ones. As the generational groupings have moved further apart, contact between them has lessened, and has been facilitated by the ostensible support by the elders for higher education which has resulted in a more pronounced institutionalized separation of parent and child at a critical period in the psychological development of youth. This lessened contact has allowed the youth to develop in ways alien to their elders in many respects. With these developments have come new attitudes and values and a further widening of the gulf. As contact is reduced, 'knowledge' of the other tends to be based more and more on imagination of what the other is like. If original contact with the other was unpleasant, later imaginations untempered by contact will tend to spiral regressively downward.

In suggesting 'youth' as a new, but optional, stage of human growth, Keniston (1970) emphasizes the importance of regression:

> . . . the fact that youth is a time of psychological change also inevitably means that it is a stage of constant recapitulation, reenactment and reworking of the past. This

> reworking can rarely occur without real regression, whereby the buried past is reexperienced as present and, one hopes, incorporated into it [p. 650].

This regression, Keniston suggests, is the consequence of the ambivalent tension youth experience between self and society; the developmental possibilities are personal growth (individuation) or alienation.

Our data on the public and private aspects of the Kent State situation support the contentions of Lasswell and Keniston. With respect to the public aspects, the polar attitudes (factors A and C) demonstrated mutual hostility accompanied by mutual disinterest in obtaining the facts and/or of getting together to talk matters over; in Lasswell's terms, there was little inclination toward reality testing. In terms of the private reactions of the six radicals and six moderates, there was a general tendency, more pronounced among the radicals, to relate to the present on the basis of the past and to become enmeshed in a kind of 'participation mistique' (Harding, 1965, p. 45) whereby little attempt is made to discriminate between the real properties of political objects and those properties attributed to them in imagination. In addition, the radicals seemed more predisposed to enter the social conflict with a pre-existing bipolar mental set which could only serve to resonate with the social polarity within the Kent community. A similar story would undoubtedly unfold through an intensive investigation of reactionary respondents, like those comprising factor C.

According to Keniston (1970), the central conscious issue during youth is the tension between self and society, an issue illustrated best by the four students discussed above. In the case of Kathy's factor structure (Table 3), the polarity on factor K1 is between certain aspects of the present society (America, President Nixon, General Del Corso, Governor Rhodes, etc.) and Kathy's ideals (how she would like others to think of her, how her mother and father would like her to be, etc.)--i.e., the polarity is not between the self (orthogonal on factor K2) and society, but between her ideals and society. Nevertheless, this does not preclude the existence of tension between self and society, although such tension may be more subtle than a direct polarity would indicate. One might speculate, for example, that the appearance of General Del Corso (or his representatives, the Ohio National Guard), by invoking Kathy's idealism, might not only serve to sharpen for her the discrepancy between existing society and ideal society, but might also serve to highlight for her the discrepancy between her actual self and her ideal self. What is ideal for her may be what representatives of existing society are not, but what is ideal for her also serves to remind her what she is not. The tension, therefore, would still be there functionally related to the evaluation of contemporary society. Kathy's situation is in marked contrast to moderate Linda's (Table 4) whose self, self ideal, and conception of America are congruent and orthogonal, rather than bipolar, to objects which she dislikes.

If these results can be accepted as anywhere near an accurate account, it would appear that one of the lessons to be learned from Kent State is that political decisions and political action must be assessed on more than merely political or legal grounds, and that this assessment must include the social and psychological impact the decisions are apt to have.

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APPENDIX

(A) 'Public Response' Factor Structure

Ss are ranked according to the magnitude of their factor loadings, first for pure cases, and then for the mixed cases. Loadings exceeding ±.30 are considered significant; decimals are omitted. The education category has been omitted since almost all Ss were either in college or had had some college experience; educational aspects of special importance are listed under 'Comments'; Ss known to be parents of Kent State students are also listed under 'Comments'. Under 'Location', Ohio Ss are listed by town, others by state; Ss on the Kent State campus at the time of the shooting are listed 'KSU'. Ss witnessing the shooting have * next to their numbers.

	Factors						
No.	A	B	Age	Sex	Party	Location	Comments
001	89	09	20	M		Akron	student
002	89	11	21	M	Demo	KSU	student
003	88	13	21	F	Demo	Warren	student
004	88	14	23	F	Demo	Kent	social worker
005	87	03	21	F	Demo	KSU	student
006	87	19	24	M	Demo	KSU	student
007	86	01	21	M	Demo	KSU	student
008*	86	18	21	M	Demo	KSU	student
009	84	-01	23	M		KSU	student
010*	84	-06	22	M		KSU	student
011*	84	08	20	M		KSU	student
012	84	11	20	F		KSU	student
013*	84	-20	21	M	SDS	KSU	student
014*	83	13	21	F	Ind	KSU	student
015	82	01	21	F		KSU	student
016	81	13	23	M	Demo	KSU	student
017	81	15	44	F	Demo	Pennsylvania	cosmotologist, hi school
018	81	17	22	M	Demo	KSU	student

No.	A	B	Age	Sex	Party	Location	Comments
019	81	27	27	F		KSU	librarian
020*	79	16	22	M	Demo	KSU	student
021	78	10	43	M	Demo	Pakistan	professor, Ph.D.
022	78	16	20	F		KSU	student
023*	78	20	20	M		KSU	student
024	78	28	50	F	Demo	New Phila.	sec'y, parent
025	77	-01	21	M	Demo	Murray City	student
026	76	15	22	M		KSU	student
027*	76	18	21	M		KSU	student
028	76	22	22	M		KSU	student
029*	75	04	20	F	Soc	KSU	student
030*	75	19	20	M		KSU	student
031	75	29	22	F		KSU	student
032	74	25	23	M	Soc	KSU	student
033	71	15	27	M	Demo	Akron	student
034	70	27	20	M	Demo	KSU	student
035	69	-21	19	M	Ind	Wadsworth	student
036*	69	29	20	M	Demo	KSU	student
037	68	01	22	M		KSU	student
038	68	12	22	M		Missouri	student
039	68	18	23	M		KSU	student
040	65	20	40	M	Demo	Columbus	mechanic, hi school
041	65	23	24	F	Demo	Kent	clerk, hi school
042	58	24	20	M	Ind	KSU	student
043	56	-05	20	F		Pennsylvania	student
044	51	15	23	M		Garfield Hts	steelworker, hi school
045	50	21	36	M	Demo	California	professor, Ph.D.
046	47	22	50	F	Demo	Wilmington	housewife, parent
047	33	03	22	M	Demo	Lakewood	salesman
048	01	87	39	M		KSU	administrator, Ph.D.
049	18	82	32	M	GOP	KSU	administrator, Ph.D.
050	13	79	44	F	Demo	Euclid	housewife, hi school
051	14	77	23	M	Ind	KSU	
052	18	77	33	M		KSU	administrator, Ph.D.
053	29	77	40	M	Demo	KSU	professor, Ph.D.
054	10	73	38	M	GOP	Missouri	executive
055	28	72	24	F	Ind	Euclid	teacher
056	05	71	23	M	GOP	KSU	student
057	08	71	24	F		KSU	student
058	-13	71	35	M	Ind	KSU	professor, Ph.D.
059	28	71		M	GOP	Missouri	lawyer, Ph.D.
060	02	69	27	M	GOP	Kansas	lawyer
061	10	68	43	F	GOP	Florida	housewife, parent
062	06	67	32	M	GOP	KSU	student, USMC
063	-14	66	46	F	GOP	Maryland	housewife, parent, hi sch.
064	27	66	21	M	GOP	Missouri	student
065	-17	65	23	M	Demo	Toledo	policeman
066	27	65	56	M	GOP	Canton	grocer, parent
067	-12	64	24	M	GOP	Medina	teacher
068	-13	63	20	F	Demo	Kent	clerk
069	-07	62	52	M	Demo	Kent	lawyer
070	-03	61	69	M	GOP	KSU	administrator, Ph.D.

No.	A	B	Age	Sex	Party	Location	Comments
071	22	61	19	M	Demo	Burbank	student
072	-03	60	43	M	Demo	Parma	salesman, parent
073	27	60	42	M	Demo	Kent	architect
074	29	60	22	F		Atwater	teacher
075	-03	59	31	M		Parma	
076	14	59	25	F	Ind	Kent	teacher
077	02	58	28	M		Rootstown	teacher
078	-19	57	48	M	Demo	Euclid	businessman
079	27	57	23	F	GOP	Cleveland Hts	sec'y
080	16	55	47	F	Demo	Cleveland	housewife, hi school
081	-17	55	39	M		Alliance	Cpt, Nat Gd, hi school
082	22	55	40	F	GOP	Kent	housewife, hi school
083	-01	54	56	M	GOP	Pennsylvania	self-employed, parent
084	-08	53	25	M	Demo	KSU	Nat'l Guardsman
085	-19	53	45	M	GOP	Missouri	salesman, parent
086	-01	52	36	F	GOP	Missouri	teacher
087	-23	51	46	M	Demo	New Jersey	laborer, hi school
088	29	51	23	M	GOP	KSU	student
089	20	50	27	F	Demo	Toledo	housewife, hi school
090	-24	50	53	F	Demo	Ravenna	housewife
091	-10	49	60	F	Demo	Kent	teacher
092	-23	48	27	M	GOP	Kent	instructor, M.A.
093	-11	46	34	M	Ind	Kent	barber
094	12	41	49	F	Demo	New York	sec'y, hi school, parent
095*	-24	40	22	M	GOP	KSU	student
096	-16	38	49	F	Demo	East Lake	housewife, hi school
097	-17	37	43	M		Kent	machinist, hi school
098	-18	37	60	F	GOP	Cuy. Falls	housewife, hi school
099	-19	36	23	F	Demo	Kent	sec'y
100	15	35	19	M	Demo	Missouri	student
101	13	33	51	M	Demo	New Phila.	laborer, elem. school
102	04	31	59	M	Demo	KSU	security guard
103	-18	31		M	Demo	KSU	athletic coach
104	-75	-17	42	M	GOP	Cleveland	
105	-69	-23	19	F		Columbus	student
106	-67	-02	28	M	GOP	Cleveland	carpenter, hi school
107	-66	00	42	F	GOP	California	sec'y
108	-66	16	52	M	Demo	Warren	laborer, hi school, parent
109	-65	13	69	M	GOP	California	M.D., retired
110	-64	11	23	M		Akron	businessman
111	-62	24	46	F	GOP	Kent	housewife, hi school
112	-61	15	29	M	GOP	Parma	
113	-60	10	30	F	GOP	Burbank	housewife, hi school
114	-57	02	48	F	Demo	California	accountant
115	-49	28	19	M	GOP	New York	student
116	-44	08	41	F	GOP	Kent	teacher
117	-39	28	28	M	GOP	Brimfield	accountant
118	-31	15	53	F	Demo	Akron	teacher
119	87	32	23	F		Kent	housewife
120	85	33	20	F	Demo	California	student
121	84	32	19	M	Ind	Virginia	student

No.	A	B	Age	Sex	Party	Location	Comments
122*	82	30	23	M	Ind	KSU	student
123	80	41	26	M	Demo	Akron	public official
124	79	36	27	M	Demo	Canton	minister, M.A.
125	78	30	22	M		Kent	musician
126	77	41	21	F	Demo	KSU	student
127	76	42	21	F	Ind	KSU	student
128*	75	31	21	M		KSU	student
129	75	38	21	F	Demo	KSU	student
130	75	43	21	M		KSU	student
131	75	46	20	F		California	student
132	75	48	50	M	Demo	Iowa	professor, Ph.D.
133	73	41	25	F	Demo	Akron	teacher
134	73	43	21	M	GOP	KSU	student
135	72	44	22	F	Demo	KSU	student
136	72	56	31	F	Demo	California	housewife
137	71	42	21	M	Ind	Cleveland	student
138*	71	45	35	M		KSU	professor, Ph.D.
139	71	47	21	M	Demo	KSU	student
140*	70	43	36	M	GOP	KSU	professor, Ph.D.
141	70	46	23	F	Ind	KSU	student
142	70	64	39	M	Demo	California	student, M.A.
143	69	42	68	M		Missouri	professor, Ph.D.
144	69	54	20	F	GOP	KSU	student
145	69	59	26	M	Ind	Colorado	USAF instructor, M.A.
146	68	39	26	M	GOP	KSU	professor, Ph.D.
147	68	44	16	F	Demo	Cuy. Falls	student, hi school
148	68	45	21	M	GOP	Wilmington	student
149	67	31	29	M		Missouri	lawyer
150	67	35	20	M	GOP	KSU	student
151	66	52	20	M	GOP	KSU	student
152	65	48	20	M		KSU	student
153	65	57	53	F	Demo	Northfield	housewife
154	64	53	22	F	Demo	KSU	student
155	64	56	19	F	Demo	Canton	student
156	63	48	22	M	Demo	KSU	student
157*	61	42	20	F		KSU	student
158	61	49	23	F		Kent	social worker
159	61	60	34	F	Demo	Illinois	professor, Ph.D.
160	59	45	23	M	GOP	KSU	student
161	56	47	18	M		Connecticut	student, hi school
162	56	50	20	M	Demo	KSU	student
163	54	42	22	M		KSU	student
164	52	37	22	M	Demo	KSU	Nat'l Guardsman
165	52	49	43	M	GOP	Kansas	civilian emp, US Army
166*	46	44	22	M	GOP	KSU	student
167	39	38	40	M		New York	teacher
168	34	31	22	F		KSU	student
169	49	78	38	M	Ind	Missouri	professor, Ph.D.
170	37	75	48	M	GOP	Lakewood	engineer
171	33	74	43	M	GOP	KSU	
172	41	73	37	M	Ind	KSU	administrator, Ph.D.
173	49	73	39	M	Demo	KSU	administrator, Ph.D.

No.	A	B	Age	Sex	Party	Location	Comments
174	52	71	22	F	Ind	Maryland	
175	31	70	23	M	Ind	KSU	Nat'l Guardsman
176	30	38	51	M	GOP	Illinois	professor, Ph.D.
177	39	67	52	M	Ind	Virginia	professor, Ph.D., parent
178	56	67	21	F	Ind	Colorado	student
179*	36	65	23	M	GOP	KSU	student
180	53	63	26	M		KSU	administrator, Ph.D.
181	35	62	22	F	GOP	KSU	student
182	36	62	30	M	Demo	KSU	professor, Ph.D.
183	39	62	32	M	Ind	Kent	minister, M.A.
184	51	62	20	M	GOP	KSU	student
185*	55	62	43	M	Demo	KSU	professor, Ph.D.
186	60	61	27	F	Demo	Kent	housewife
187	41	60	20	M		Parma	student
188	52	60	35	M	Demo	Cleveland	professor, M.A.
189	54	60	35	M	Demo	Ashtabula	bar owner, hi school
190*	45	59	20	M	GOP	KSU	student
191	45	59	18	M	Demo	KSU	student
192	-38	58	46	F	GOP	Pennsylvania	housewife, hi school
193	47	58	21	M	Demo	KSU	student
194	35	57	26	M		Akron	salesman
195	46	57	27	M	Demo	KSU	professor, Ph.D.
196	45	56	29	M	GOP	KSU	student
197	50	55	18	M	Demo	KSU	student
198	48	54	22	M	GOP	Kent	student
199	-30	53	29	F		Missouri	housewife
200	-41	53	40	F	GOP	Cuy. Falls	teacher
201	43	51	49	M	Ind	Virginia	Army officer, parent
202	45	50	22	M		Cleveland	student
203	41	49	25	M	Demo	KSU	student, M.A.
204	-44	49	29	M	GOP	Kansas	Kans. Nat'l Guard
205	40	47	19	F	GOP	KSU	student
206	33	45	21	F	Demo	KSU	
207	-37	45	49	M	GOP	Cincinnati	salesman, parent
208*	40	43	21	M		KSU	student
209	-42	43	38	F	Demo	Ravenna	housewife, hi school
210	-37	40	21	F	Demo	New York	student
211	-30	39	23	M	Demo	KSU	Nat'l Guardsman
212	-30	37	47	F	Demo	Cleveland	housewife, hi school, parent
213	-36	36	50	F	GOP	Kent	real estate, hi school
214	35	35	23	M	Demo	KSU	student
215	-67	40	20	M	GOP	KSU	student
216	-50	30	54	M	Demo	Akron	executive, hi school
217	-48	42		F	GOP	KSU	housemother
218	-44	32	47	M	Ind	W. LaFayette	teacher, M.A.
219	-55	-57	22	F	GOP	Canton	housewife, hi school
220	-02	28	23	F		Kent	sec'y
221	-13	17	48	F	Demo	Atwater	housewife, parent
222	-13	18	22	M		Toronto (O.)	student

No.	A	B	Age	Sex	Party	Location	Comments
223	-14	29	52	M	Demo	Toronto (O.)	laborer, hi school, parent
224	-20	15	27	M	Demo	N. Olmstead	govt emp, hi school, parent
225	-28	22	19	M	Ind	Youngstown	student
226	-05	05	20	M		Kent	student
227	03	-08	20	M		Cleveland	student
228	00	00	19	F		Kent	student

(B) 'Public Response' Factor Arrays

Numbers in the first parenthesis indicate, respectively, which ABCD combination the statement represents according to the design in Table 1, p. 4. Numbers in the second parenthesis are the factor scores obtained by the statement in factor-analytic factors A, B, and C, respectively, where factor C is the negative pole of factor A in the matrix above.

14. The disturbances in Kent and the burning of the ROTC building were inexcusible and were responsible for the Guard's presence. If the Guard hadn't of been called, the students would have burned down the whole town. (1111) (-5 -1 +4)
35. If the Kent students don't stop their abuse of property, the Kent residents are going to have to help out the police in their own way. (1111) (-3 -3 +2)
66. Four lives is a dear price to pay to establish law and order, and yet it appears there will have to be many lives given if communism is to be stopped from taking over our country. (1111) (-3 -1 +3)

26. This is all very tragic; yet, if this is what it takes to teach law and order to students, then this is the high price that must be paid to keep our country free. Freedom ends when laws are broken and authority threatened. (1112) (-5 +1 +6)
50. Kent State was a clear-cut and classic instance of outsiders planning and manipulating a series of events: outsiders dedicated to only an out-and-out revolutionary purpose used President Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia as a trigger for violence. (1112) (-3 0 +6)
61. Communists are directing virtually all anti-war protest and violent dissent. (1112) (-4 -3 +4)

19. Things are going to get stricter. I for one just won't stand for such disturbances in the future. (1113) (-3 0 +3)
60. The media should have played down the Kent State events--de-spectacularized them, put them on the back page instead of the front. (1113) (-2 -2 +2)
75. There's a massive communist conspiracy afoot in the U.S., and if you think there's trouble now, wait and see what happens when the public wakes up to this fact and reacts to it. (1113) (-4 -2 +3)

39. Some people have forgotten that rioting and destruction were going on in Kent before the Guard arrived--not because the Guard came to Kent. If the students hadn't frightened the community, in all probability no one would have been killed. (1121) (-2 +2 +3)
53. Students today are highly creative and have rich fantasies. Their problems arise when they begin to act on their fantasies as if they were reality. (1121) (-1 0 +2)
63. The university should be the planning arena for action, a place to return and analyze the consequences of action. It should be like the eye of the storm, not the battlefield. (1121) (0 +3 0)

5. There are several investigations which have been commissioned. I feel we should not jump to conclusions before the facts are in. (1122) (+1 +4 +1)
72. I'm not sure about this loaded-gun business. Methods and tactics will have to be improved, but this takes time. This is a relatively new situation for this country. (1122) (-1 +1 +1)
74. I have mixed feelings about the shootings. I can appreciate that the Guard was doing its duty, but they were killing people in the process. I need more time to think over the ramifications. (1122) (-2 +2 0)

4. I'm for law and order, too, but we must be careful. In crisis situations, there may be a tendency to pass extreme laws which could lead to repression. (1123) (+2 +3 -1)
11. The working together of faculty, administrators, and students within the established framework would help prevent recurrences of these kinds of things. (1123) (0 +6 +1)
44. Reform and change should move forward cautiously and should take place in the form of education, not revolution. (1123) (0 +5 +2)

7. I find the Vietnam War a very poor excuse for the violent reaction of students. (1211) (-5 +2 +6)
47. The students at Kent had a choice where they wanted to be; the members of the Guard did not. Therefore, it's the weirdos who are to blame, and as far as I'm concerned they got what they deserved. (1211) (-5 -2 +5)
67. They should shoot those who perpetrate violence and destroy property. The radical core can't be changed--they have to be shot to be stopped. (1211) (-6 -4 +5)

52. Some of those rebellious kids should have been spanked more often. There was no trouble like this back when youth respected their parents. (1212) (-3 0 +3)
57. Kent State as an institution was not responsible for the series of disruptions which ended with the shooting deaths of those four students. (1212) (-1 0 0)
64. I don't believe in shooting people either, but the students just wouldn't listen. Frankly, I'm surprised the Guard didn't kill before they did. If some of those freaks had thrown rocks at me, I'd have shot them more than once. (1212) (-4 -3 +3)

27. As far as the National Guard is concerned--right or wrong, I stand behind them 100 per cent. (1213) (-6 -3 +5)
33. The only way to stop those degenerates is for those who believe in the flag to band together and kick the hell out of some people. Brute force is the only answer. (1213) (-6 -5 +4)
42. I blame the KSU Administration for not using its authority in preventing the riots, and for not throwing out some of those students and their hippie professors. (1213) (-4 +2 +2)

1. As much as I disagree with them, I still don't think radical groups like S.D.S. should be banned; that just causes them to go underground. As long as this is a free country, they should be allowed to try to get support for their ideas, just like everybody else. (1221) (+1 +1 -5)
24. I was predisposed to blame the students, but then as I got more information I began to realize that mistakes had been made on both sides. (1221) (-2 +4 0)
29. As long as students believe the only way to get change is through violence we will not have a better world, only a bloodier one. The student violence at Kent was no more right than the wars it decried. (1221) (-2 +6 +4)

30. I don't think peaceful protests will help, but I can't condone violence either. Somehow, for the sake of the country, we have to get together and talk these things out. (1222) (0 +5 +1)
31. The National Guard may not be entirely blameless, but they have been made the unfortunate tool and whipping boy of all who do not agree with law and order. (1222) (-3 +3 +2)
32. I imagine Governor Rhodes felt he was doing the best thing by sending the Guard to Kent. As a politician and public official, he could not ignore the situation. (1222) (-1 +3 +4)

2. Although I wouldn't want to hurt anyone myself, nevertheless when those New York construction workers plowed through those students like a Sherman tank . . . well, I must admit, I found it a bit refreshing. (1223) (-4 -2 +5)
16. Students must be made to understand that there are rules of the house involved: they should have a say as to what the rules will be, but the management must have the final word. (1223) (-2 +5 +2)
37. If there is no other way, force must be used to preserve order--but not bullets. I don't believe in shooting them down. (1223) (-1 +4 -1)

13. We're definitely headed for revolution. The 'Kent 4' were the first fatalities. This seems to be the only way we will accomplish the ultimate liberation of our society. (2111) (+1 -6 -3)
18. I have become radically shifted. I don't like violence, but right now I can't see any other way. They didn't give peace a chance. (2111) (+1 -5 -1)
58. Anyone who claims it is justifiable and exemplary to kill innocent citizens just to protect law and order is ideal bait for a fascist regime, and this, more than riots, terrifies me. (2111) (+6 -1 -4)

20. The massive reaction to Kent has turned my attitude from one of humanism and optimism, to one of 'to hell with it all!' I've had it. (2112) (+1 -4 0)
49. My first reaction was sadness for the four students, then anger because of the senselessness of it all, and then a personal fear that these deaths were only a beginning. (2112) (+6 +1 -2)
73. The pictures in Life, Newsweek, in the papers, and on TV--Oh, my God! I felt helpless. What are we doing? I just cannot comprehend. (2112) (+2 0 -1)

12. I feel frightened, depressed, polarized. I thought people in general would react to this wrongful act. I was dismayed to find some didn't seem to care. (2113) (+4 -2 -1)
36. The National Guard on the Kent campus immediately reminded me of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Russian troops in 1968. (2113) (+3 -4 -3)
59. I couldn't sleep afterwards. I really had fears for my own safety. (2113) (-1 -3 -1)

10. If the Guard had not been on campus, none of the shooting would have occurred. (2121) (+3 0 -5)
22. Classes should have been cancelled sooner to allow a cooling off period. They could have opened later in the week, with conferences perhaps. (2121) (+3 +4 -2)
38. There comes a time when there are priorities over and beyond that which we have traditionally considered the fundamental purpose of an academic institution. (2121) (+5 -1 0)

9. It made me realize how precious life is and how short it could be. (2122) (+3 +1 0)
28. Flowers are better than bullets. (2122) (+2 +2 -2)
51. Getting involved and becoming aware, while important, are not cure-alls for society's ills. There were a lot of involved and aware people at Kent State--throwing tear gas canisters back and forth at one another. (2122) (0 +2 +1)

23. When done properly, revolutions are great! There's something exhilerating about total involvement. And so long as it doesn't get destructive, no one's the worse for a little friendly outside agitation. (2123) (0 -4 -3)
34. I don't think I could bring myself to be violent, but it's really hard to continually beat your head against the peaceful brick wall. However, continue we must. (2123) (+1 +1 -2)
55. There must be more ways for students to dissent from the War legally and non-violently; they must be shown that a lot of others around them are with them, and the legal non-violent opposition must be shown to be effective. (2123) (+2 +6 +1)

17. The Kent State deaths have stripped away the fragile cover of hypocrisy. Any institution which does not serve the needs of the people as they see those needs must perish or rule by force. (2211) (+2 -4 -3)

48. The National Guard is just a bunch of trigger-happy, draft-dodging, high-school drop-outs. Unless evidence of a sniper is positively proven, the Guard is at fault. (2211) (+1 -6 -6)
70. Flowers, gather for war. . . . And in the ranks of people and flowers, rise up murdered Allison . . . like the immortelle of the epoch--the thorny flower of protest. (2211) (+2 -2 -3)

6. The Kent shootings were cold-blooded murder. The Guardsmen were not trapped, not shot at, not threatened. They should never have been allowed on the campus. (2212) (+5 -6 -6)
68. Agnew is an ignorant slob, a rhetoritician for Nixon's insipid policies. His invective after the Kent murders served more to fan the flames of indignation than to appeal to reason. (2212) (+5 -3 -5)
69. I hold the Guardsmen, acting under the orders and under severe psychological pressures, less responsible than are Governor Rhodes and Adjutant General Del Corso, whose inflammatory indoctrination produced these pressures. (2212) (+1 -1 -4)

41. Based upon total costs, college students are about one-fifth as expensive to kill as Viet Cong. No wonder our economy-minded leaders have gotten so interested in the campuses. (2213) (+2 -5 -2)
43. The ROTC building was proof of the University's bias and lies about academic neutrality. Maybe burning it was the wrong answer, but I wouldn't have put the fire out. (2213) (+4 -5 -6)
56. All you hear from the Kent townspeople is how much damage was caused--never how they have been fleecing the students all this time. (2213) (+3 -2 -4)

3. What I mourn, more than the needless death of four young people, is the slow death of reason, understanding, compassion, and respect in relations between people. (2221) (+4 +5 -1)
15. KSU President White should have spoken to the students sometime during the weekend preceding the shootings. He could have had a much greater influence on the course of events. (2221) (0 +4 0)
40. Reference to outside agitators is largely overdrawn. But many people are willing, even anxious, to believe this assertion. (2221) (+5 -1 -5)

25. I feel the value of my life was lessened because these students' lives were taken so lightly. When there is so little regard and respect for life, the quality of every life is diminished. I for one could not shoot a student. (2222) (+4 0 -3)
54. Even if each of the four KSU students really was guilty of every crime committed--looting, vandalism, throwing bricks, etc.--would any jury prescribe so drastic a penalty as death? (2222) (+3 +1 -2)
62. There is only one fitting memorial to the fallen. It is for the living to stop the killing. (2222) (+6 +3 -2)

8. We should suppress radicals, but by talking to them, not shooting them. Might not a radical--even though a radical --have a good idea? (2223) (-1 +3 -1)
45. I doubt there's much communist influence. Because of the Kent State situation, even the athletes and baton-twirlers are involved, and they're not exactly what you'd call radical types. The students' concerns are genuine. (2223) (+4 -1 -4)
71. The 'Kent 4' should not be considered as martyrs. There's nothing to be gained from continuing to carry this as a grudge to draw people further apart. Difficult as it may be, it would be best to try and forget what happened. (2223) (-2 +1 +1)

21. Since we are all responsible for our own behavior, each of us, directly or indirectly, is to some extent responsible for what happened at Kent. Therefore, if there is to be peace, let it begin with me. (uncategorized) (0 +2 0)
46. The events at Kent did not change my views. (uncategorized) (-1 0 +1)
65. Just like Vice President Agnew said on the David Frost TV show: the National Guard overreacted; they may even be guilty of murder, but not first-degree. (0 -1 -4)